k: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4
Ma'adan

582 591 It would, of course, be practically impossible for an Englishman, even were he a convert to Islam, to marry a girl of a good Sharif Arab tribe. If such a thing were permitted, he would never be allowed to take the girl away from the tribe, and he himself would have to adopt a nomad existence, and settle down with the girl's parents.

619 In the above notes I have not referred to the tribes of Iraq. Their main Badawin tribes, namely 'Anizah, Shammar and Dhafir are all Sharif tribes, but their settled tribes, known as Ashaiyir (singular: Ashira) are half marsh tribes (Ma'adan) or have their origin in some pure desert tribe of Arabia, such as Zubaid, Rabiah, etc. Nevertheless, because they have become settled and cultivate the soil, the desert man to-day tolerates no inter-marriage with even the best of them.

592 A few technical terms denoting various family relationships may here be discussed, for they throw light on the Badawin social system.

AHL (or ÁL)

[619] (*a*) Many tribes or sub-tribes have the prefix Ál put before them, when they are referred to, example Ál Murra, Ál Ruwala. This should not be mistaken for the article *al*.

Ál is like the term "Bani", e.g. Bani Khalid, Ál Khalid.

(*b*) Ahl is the common term used to represent a man's people or kin. You ask a Badawin *Wain ahlak?* (Where are your folk?), he will answer, *Naẓlin fi fulan fulan makan* (They are camped in such and such a place). In short, the word is commonly understood to mean a man's wife, sisters, children, father, mother and any relation who may be camped with him.

592 601 551 A man says *Ya 'Aiyál* when addressing his sons or his family as a whole. He will also say *Kaif hál al 'Aiyál?* when enquiring after the health of another person's children and family generally.

The term *ahl al bait* denotes also the wife of the tent-dweller, and like *raiyat al bait*, the mistress of the house. It is not commonly used.

The mistress of the tent is *Um al 'aiyál* (mother of the children) to her husband or others, or she may be addressed as "Um Sa'ud", "Um Hussa", "Um Badr", etc. She is rarely called by her own personal [576] name. A guest should certainly refer to her as mother of so and so if he were on sufficiently good terms to ask after his host's wife at all. A wife calls her husband "Rai al Bait" as well as by his proper name.

H. Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

576 592 601 551 A Badawin wanting to ask after the lady of the house and not knowing his host very well, will often say, *Kaif hál illi wardkum?* (How is the person behind you?) This is polite and permissible.

Of course, should a man live in his father's tent, he never speaks of his *ahl al bait*, even though he is married and has children. He and his family belong to the *ahl* of his father. If the father dies and his married sons still remain with their families in his, the father's tent, it, the tent, is known as the tent of the children of So-and-So—*Bait aulád fulan*. The *ahl al bait* in these circumstances is either the dead man's old wife (their mother), or the wife who has charge of the tent.

628 613 There is another application of the word *ahl*. If you want to indicate the inhabitants of a certain tribal area, such as the Mutair of the Summán country, you can use the expression "Ahl al Summán", "Ahl al Suda", i.e. the inhabitants of the Summán, or of the Suda, meaning those who have a right to those places and live there.

On 11th August, 1935, in discussing this matter with Shaikh 'Ubaid al Mutragga al Harri of the Diyahin section of the Mutair, he explained to me that the importance of this *ahl* idea lay in the root question of who would have to exact vengeance for a man, if he were murdered or killed (war or a raid, of course, excluded). Someone, he said, must follow up the murderer and kill him. The duty of doing this devolves on any or all of a man's *ahl*. A man's *ahl* consists of his own living descendants, for three generations, and includes also his ascendants to the third generation. That is to say, his sons, grandsons and great-grandsons; also his father, grandfather and great-grandfather, and their other descendants.

An *ahl*, added Shaikh 'Ubaid al Mutragga, protects a man from injustice, and must also be prepared to suffer for his guilt.

BANI 'ÁM

613 582 The terms (1) Bani 'Ám, (2) Walad 'Ám, (3) Bint 'Ám are some of the expressions most commonly heard and daily used amongst the Badawin.

The 'Ajman and the Ál Murra tribes are Bani 'Ám, or 'Amam for instance, and the Walad 'Ám only takes as bride his Bint 'Ám (first cousin), unless he specifically decides to free her from the duty of marrying him.

I: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

613 627 604 893 father or the son (the girl's brother) has to kill her to wipe out the dishonour. If her father is dead and she has no brother, then her *walad 'ám*, a male cousin on her father's side, must take action and do the deed.

613 604 721 628 Between *bani 'ám* certain actions are taboo. For instance, a man must never seize and bind one of his *'amam* even though he be a thief. Nor must he, if on the warpath, attack his *'amam* by a *dawn* attack or raid him after *midnight*. It is *'aib* (disgraceful) to do this.

Between *bani 'ám* the generally agreed price of a man killed (*'idiya*) is fixed at 50 camels, a man, and a rifle. The payment of these settles the blood feud. Should an outsider, however, slay a man there is a different scale, and should he kill an important shaikh such as the Al Subah, Al Sa'ud, Al Dushan, Al Sha'alan, then only blood can expiate the crime. (See Chapter XLII.)

WALAD 'ÁM

601 (2) *Walad 'Ám*—father's brother's son (first cousin—male on father's side).

BINT 'ÁM

613 582 (3) *Bint 'Ám*—father's brother's daughter (first cousin—female—on father's side). See also Chapter VIII.

[601] A man always has the right to marry his *bint 'ám*, and no man, not even his parents or the girl's parents, can deny him this right.

Should he voluntarily forgo it, he will give the girl a paper, saying that he does not want her. The whole idea of this first-cousin marriage is protective, and is designed to keep the family intact. A girl knows from earliest childhood that her future husband will be her *walad 'ám*. She cannot evade such marriage unless her cousin waives his right or allows another man to purchase this right from him. This latter procedure is not common.

On the whole, this first-cousin marriage works well. It at least insures a girl a husband, as soon as she comes of age to marry. Among more civilised Arabs it has led to much abuse, and brothers have prevented their sisters marrying lest they take property out of the immediate family. This fraternal tyranny has frequently been exercised among the Al Sa'adun shaikhs in Iraq.

21:Ashkenazi E-4 (no date) 1948 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

THE 'ANAZAH TRIBES*

TOUVIA ASHKENAZI

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TO THE RABI'A GROUP[1] belong the 'Anazah and the closely related 'Asad who live near each other to the north of the Wâdi Rumma.[2] The Pilgrim Road from Baṣra[3] to Medina[4] crosses their territory. The 'Anazah, who are scattered throughout the peninsula of Arabia, Syria and 'Irak, are divided
● [601] into a Southern and Northern branch. All the tribes, and all the clans of the 'Anazah tribes, in the opinion of the ar-Rwala, have a common father and therefore are they beni al-'amm, their paternal cousins.[5] They are called by many travellers the 'Anazah nation.[6] The 'Anazah of the Syrian desert are the most

128 * Because of limitations of special type available native words are given in the text without diacritical marks. A list showing the proper orthography is given at the end of this article—Editor.

113 1 *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1938, pp. 176-178; see tribal descent of Arabian Bedouins, Carl Rauwan, *The Black Tents of Arabia* (Boston, 1935), p. 232; cf. Reynold A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs* (1933), p. xix, "The Descendants of Rabia"; Philip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (3rd ed., revised, 1946), pp. 93, 280, 502 n. l; L. Massignon, *Annuaire du monde musulman* (3rd ed., 1929), pp. 95, 101, 106, 131, 177, 439; Charles M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta* (New York, 1946), vol. 2, p. 477.

2 *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 1, p. 374; cf. *First List of Names in Arabia (N. W. and S. W.)* (Permanent Committee on Geographical Names for British Official Use, Royal Geographical Society, December, 1931, p. 8 (Rima, Wâdi er: wadi, 160 km south of Hail; Arabic *A* [for Arabic forms see list at end of this article]). See also David George Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia: a Record of the Development of Western Knowledge Concerning the Arabian Peninsula* (New York, 1904), Rumma, W. er –, pp. 164, 184, 190, 208, 233, 239, 273, 277, 285, 288 ff., 296 ff., 306, 316, 326, 340, 341.

3 Basra: pr. Basra (sharp s); Arabic *B*.

4 Medina: 350 km north of Mecca; conv. for Arabic *C* – Al Medina; formerly Arabic *D* – Yathrib.

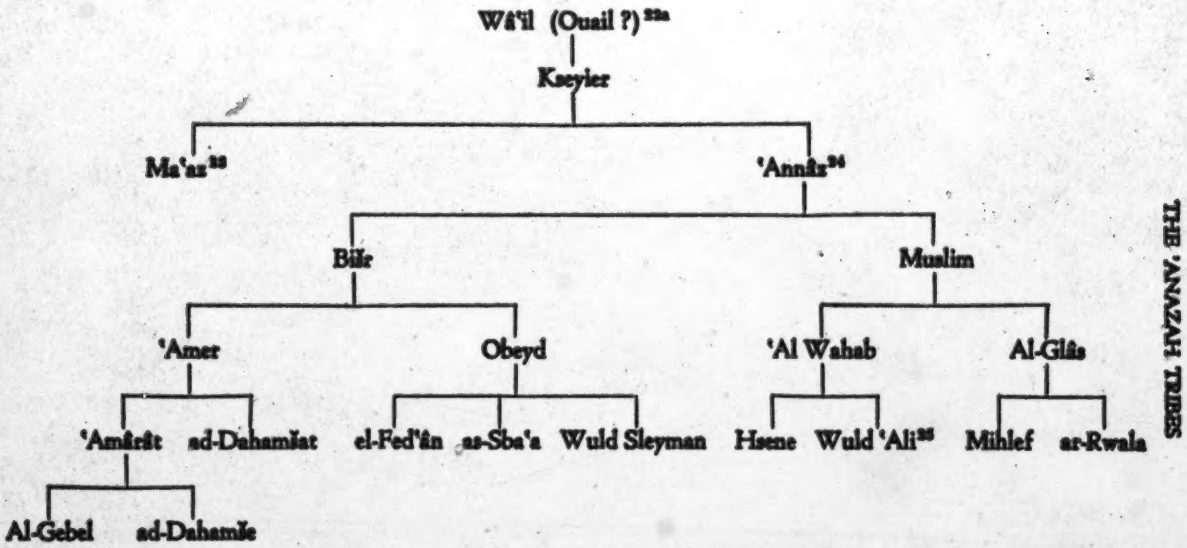
[104] 5 The word duriyye, "descendants," is replaced among the ar-Rwala by the word dana which designates very distant descendants irrespective of whether they have actually sprung from a common ancestor or whether the relationship is due to adoption. This term is employed particularly by the 'Anazah. Dana, "descendants": John Lewis Burckhardt employs this term in 1810 *(Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys* [2 vols., London, 1830], vol. 2, pp. 4-6); cf. Alois Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins* (New York, 1928), pp. 47-50; Victor Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins* (Paris, 1930), p. 113; *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades des etats du Levant placés sous mandat français* (Beyrouth, July, 1930), p. 7.

6 Alois Musil, *Arabia Deserta* (New York, 1927), p. 1; Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, p. 176; Carl Rauwan, *Tribal Areas and Migration Lines of the North Arabian Bedouins* (Geographical Review, vol. 20, no. 3, 1930), p. 494; *idem*, *Vocabulary of Bedouin Words Concerning Horses* (Journal of Near Eastern Studies, vol. 4, no. 2, 1945), p. 97.

21:Ashkenazi E-4 (no date) 1948 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

TABLE 3

Genealogy of the 'Anazah[22]



22 *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.*, p. 15; Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, p. 122.

22a Cf. "Wallyin (sons of wâil, that is the Annezy)" (Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, vol. 2, p. 477). Cf. Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, p. 122: "Tableau de parenté des Aniézis" (Ouaïel or Ourseil); *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades, etc.*, p. 15; "Généalogie des Aniézis."

23 Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, vol. 1, p. 94.

24 Rawan, *The Black Tents of Arabia*, p. 232.

25 Were called before Al-'Ali (Rled Eben-Smeyr) (*Arabia Deserta*, p. 84).

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Eben Me'gel are encamped here"; "the ḳown of Eben Gandal also took part in the raid"; but such a phrase as "That is the ḳown of the Rwala" or "He is descended from the ḳown of the Frege," will never be heard. When the late Prince Eben Sa'lân spoke of gemâ'ati, he was thinking of the various tribes who obeyed his orders and who would hasten to his assistance. Gemâ'a is almost the same as ḳown.[26] The rank of chief[27] is hereditary in a definite house, âl.[28] It is usual to recognize as chief that member who is most suitable by reason of his mental and physical qualities; nor need he be the oldest in the ruling house. Among the clans and tribes ruling houses may persist as such until they die out, although their power may have become extremely weak and many families may have deserted them. A head chief or prince to whom the other chiefs have submitted, either of their own free will or under compulsion, and who represents a whole tribe or group of tribes, is overthrown more frequently than an ordinary chief, and his rank passes to another kin. This most frequently happens if the hereditary head chief is not distinguished by warlike ability. He then directs the external affairs of his tribe as Seyh al-bâb, while affairs of war are left to a man from a different kin. Such a leader is known as Seyh aš-šdâd or Seyh al-harb. If he succeeds in subduing the enemy and concluding a favorable peace, several clans may become attached to him. They obey him in peace. There ensue wars in which the hereditary head chief generally succumbs and his house acknowledges the supremacy of the previous military commander, who then becomes Seyh al-bâb as well.[29]

According to tradition the head chief of all the Rwala was originally descended

26 Musil, *Manners and Customs*, etc., pp. 50-51.

27 The ar-Rwala give the name of Seyh and also šeyuh to their head chief. The head chief declares war and concludes peace. Cf. *Les tribus nomades et semi-nomades*, etc., pp. 7-9; Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, pp. 202-208; Mohammed Fadhel Jamali, *The New Iraq: its Problem of Bedouin Education* (Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1934), pp. 27-29; Leo Hirsfeld, *Die Beduinen von Beersheba: ihre Rechtsverhältnisse Sitten und Gebräuche, aus dem Arabischen Übersetzt* (Lussen, 1938), pp. 29-31: "Eine Buch des Gouverneurs 'Aref el-'Aref in Beersheba"; Tewfik Ashkenazi, *Tribus semi-nomades de la Palestine du nord* (Paris, 1938), pp. 51-53.

28 Generally the word âl denotes the same as beni or eben, its meaning being wider than that of ahl. Ferîk is the name given to a group of kindred descended from the same ancestor. A Ferîk is also wider than an ahl. The clan and sometimes the kin are denoted by the word âl, which is often interchanged with the article al, although the meaning of the former is known to every Rweyli, a member of the ar-Rwala tribe. Cf. Musil, *Manners and Customs*, etc., pp. 47-50; Ign. Goldziher, in Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenland Gesellschaft, vol. 50, pp. 11-117; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, p. 248; Bräunlich, *Beiträge zur Gesellschaftsordnung*, etc., part 1, pp. 68-111; part 2, pp. 182-229.

29 Musil, *Manners and Customs*, etc., pp. 50-51.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Bedouin MS4

Diffusion and Function in Social Organization

The problems connected with diffusion of so-called social traits have been only superficially studied by anthropologists, who hold very different views about this matter. Thus Murdock stresses that "the forms of social organization seem singularly impervious to diffusion" and that "traits of social structure appear to be borrowed, in general, only under conditions in which the same traits would be independently elaborated even in the absence of culture contacts" (Murdock 1949, p. 196). This extreme view is that adopted by some anthropologists, while other scholars agree with Lowie that diffusion has played a large part in the distribution of traits of social organization (Lowie 1950, p. 261; 1953, p. 421 *f.*).

It is often stated in anthropological literature that there is not necessarily any functional connection between a particular type of social organization and a particular type of economic culture. This was shown very clearly by Wissler for the American Indians (cf. Wissler 1922). In regard to Northern Africa we have a type of patrilineal social organization which is shared by all Arabs, whether settled agriculturists or true nomads, and we have another type of social organization among Tuareg-speaking pastoralists and agriculturists. Arab and Tuareg pastoralists have largely the same type of economy, but differ much in social organization. The same holds for Arab and Tuareg agriculturists.

I have never studied Arab social organization in great detail. The patrilineages of North African Arab pastoralists have been brilliantly described by Evans-Pritchard in regard to the bedouins of Cyrenaica (Evans-Pritchard 1949), and the Arab bedouins I have visited (e.g., *Ulad Ba Ḥammu*, *Chamba*, *Larba*, *Ulad Naïl*) apparently have lineage-systems of much the same type. The *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* tribe falls into four maximal patrilineages which again divide into lesser patrilineal units. An Arab is named after an ancestor of a minor patrilineage of his tribe and by an individual name. When he writes his name the ancestral name comes first. A *Chamba* Arab I knew well was named *Ben Hadid Sayah*. *Sayah* was his personal name while *Ben Hadid* ("son of *Hadid*") referred to the ancestor of his patrilineage with a depth of five generations.

It seems as if Arab kinship terminology is of very much the same type throughout North Africa. I have taken down the systems used among the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* and the *Chamba*, and they appear to be identical apart from dialectical distinctions. The systems are characterized by a preference for descriptive terms. Those for "father" and "mother" are not used for kinsmen other than the true parents, though a father's brother may be called "father" if the true father has died. There is a term for "grandfather" and "grandmother" which can be used for all grandparents, while kinsmen of lower generations are known by descriptive terms so that it is always clear whether a kinsman belongs to

T 121
B 613 [114]
B 601
[p. 447]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
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Arabs M10

B 601 the father's or the mother's family. Should a man's father have married into his own patrilineage the mother's patrilineal family, however, is generally referred to by the terms given to paternal relatives.

B 602 Kinship behaviour is characterized by a respect-relationship towards older generations. There is also a kind of avoidance between certain in-laws known as *nsib* (male) or *nsiba* (female). The avoided relatives in-law are the following:— father-in-law, mother-in-law, son-in-law, daughter-in-law, younger brother's wife, younger sister's husband, older brother of spouse, older sister of spouse. Other in-laws known as *ḥamm* (male) or *ḥamma* (female) are not avoided; these are:— older sister's husband, younger brother of spouse, older brother's wife, younger sister of a spouse (cf. Miner 1953, p. 146). When B 582 the levirate is practised a wife can marry a younger brother of her deceased husband, but not his elder brother, just as in the case of the sororate a man can marry a younger sister of his deceased wife but not her elder sister. Thus marriage between persons of the same generation is not permitted should there already be an established avoidance relationship between them. People involved in an avoidance relationship cannot marry.

B 582 584 An interesting and much discussed trait of Arab social organization is preferential marriage with a father's brother's daughter. Most Arabs I have questioned claimed her to be the most suitable spouse, but they also said that for various reasons other types of marriage frequently took place. It might happen, for example, that marriage of this preferential type was not contracted because of conflict between the two families in question. But the factor which frequently leads to marriages of types other than that with a father's brother's daughter seems to be the following:— In an Arab family, the father has the decisive, final word in choosing spouses for his children. The children when contracting a first marriage are forced to marry the persons chosen by their father. Even so, however, the choice is frequently the result of the mother's initiative for she knows the young girls far better than does her husband. She is able to visit them, can talk freely to them, and she knows their characters and their abilities. A husband will therefore often give way to his wife's wishes even if she chooses a maternal cousin or some girl other than the father's brother's daughter.

B 582 I have already mentioned certain relatives with whom marriage is forbidden when the levirate and the sororate are practised. There are many other kinswomen whom a man is not allowed to marry, namely:— all kinswomen of the parents' and the grandparents' generations, brother's daughter, brother's daughter's daughter, brother's son's daughter, sister, sister's daughter, sister's daughter's daughter, sister's son's daughter.

A T 177 The Arabs I know best are those who live in Tuareg country, and some of them have been much influenced by Tuareg social customs. Many of these Arabs are bi-lingual, speaking of their kinsmen both in Arabic and in Tuareg. Sometimes they seem to be in doubt whether it is better to marry a father's brother's daughter than a cross-cousin. The *Ahl Azzi* Arabs, who lead a pastoral life in Ahaggar and are much mixed with the Tuareg, pay bride-wealth like the vassal Tuareg tribes, but this is not so with *Ahl Azzi* Arabs who are sedentary and live at Tamanṛaset. These sedentary Arabs never give camels for bride-wealth, but instead certain articles of dress and ornaments, the price of which is about 25,000 French francs, equivalent in value to a camel. A less comprehensive dowry is given by the bride's father. The food expenses connected with a marriage are paid in part by the groom or his father, and in part by the bride's father. The sedentary agriculturists, the *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaren*),